CHAPTER VI

FEMALE DEITIES

The important female deities of Goa like, Sāteri, Shāntadurga, Bhāukā, Kelbai, Gajalakshmi, Mahālsā, and Kāmākshi are discussed in this chapter. Man started worshipping female deities from the upper palaeolithic period. Many female deities have folk origins and they have regional variations. Different legends and traditions are associated with them. Some folk deities are absorbed in Purānās but the assimilation of the folk deities into purānās was gradual process. Purānās are not restricted to the traditions of the Aryans only. Purānās absorbed Dravidian Austric as well as Mongoloid deities. Thus the folk deities like Sāteri, Bhāukā and Mahālsā were sanskritised. The very large part of modern folk religion goes to the beginning of neolithic period. That was the beginning of cultivation and pastoralism.

The concept of folk deities has been discussed by the eminent scholars and they have referred to them as loukika deva. A new branch of Archaeology called Ethno-Archaeology specialises the field of folk deities. But in 1960's itself this approach was developed and the interpretations are published in Myth and Reality. The folk-deities like Sāteri and Bhāukā are grāmādevatās and they are found in the most of the villages of Goa. The priests in the temples of folk-
deities like Bhūkā, Sāteri and Vṛtāla were Gavdas. No Sanskrit Mantras and complicated rituals are associated with the worship of these folk-deities.\(^5\)

Sāteri (Bhumikā and Elā)

The early farming communities all over India started showing increased interest in fertility and magical means of promoting it. These are found at folk level rites and festivals which are intimately associated with the changing seasons, the sowing and harvesting of crops and breeding cattle and other live-stock. The early cultivators realised that the earth is generous in giving bountiful crops for their subsistence.\(^6\) This might have been responsible for the origin of Mother Goddess worship. If she is not worshipped she might get angry and take ferocious form namely that of goddess Kālī and act as an instrument of destruction.\(^7\) The Goddess of earth is not having the same name all over India. There are many regional variations and also numerous Grāma-devatās representing mother earth and these are obviously meant for the particular village and act as the benefactor of the village. Therefore, the grāma-devatās is the personification of female energy as represented by Mother Earth.\(^8\)

The ant-hills symbolically represent mother earth and are made up of earth itself. In many regions such as Goa, Konkan Andhra and Karnataka, ant-hills are worshipped and these ant-
hills have various names of goddesses either Renukā, Mātangi, Yellammā and Jogutāmbā. In Tamilnadu the goddess connected with ant-hills is called Putturū. In Tamil Putturū means an ant-hill. In Addivarya Mahākāli temple, a large ant-hill is called Bhomadā and is worshipped. This word is derived from Bhoum which means made of earth. Incidentally on the way to Ponda, beyond Bhanastari, there is a village named Bhom. This village has been named by the early settlers so as to had a huge ant-hill and the ant-hill is being worshipped as Sāterī and she is also called Bhumikā in Goa. The complete synthesis of Bhumikā is also indicated by the shrine of this goddess at Poriem in Sattari taluka which is called Sānterichi Bhumikā.

The name of sage Jamadagni's wife is Renukā and she is also called Yellammā. Some scholars are of the opinion that the reference to the folk-deity Ella in the inscription of Nundem in Sanguem taluka of Goa is the earliest references to Yellammā. The worship of Ella Gouri is still current among Saraswats of Dakshina annada. Renu means any particles and the ant-hills are made of particles of clay. Therefore, the goddess whose abode has been named Renukā. The worship of the ant-hill is the worship of Renukā or Yellammā. Yellammā consists of two Dravidian words namely ella means all and amma means mother. Hence she is mother of all. Here again a personification is seen of female energy as represented by mother earth. As per the tradition Renukā has been
metamorphosed into one hundred and one shaktis which have become the village goddesses. 15

In south Konkan from Kudal to Sirasi in Uttar Kannada i.e. in the west coast belt the worship of ant-hills is prevalent. 16 In the above region the goddess who is worshipped in the form of ant-hill is called Sāteri According to Behre, Sāteri is a Kannada word which is derived from sapta teri, Sapta-seven teri-layer or wave in Kannada. It is believed that ant-hills are made of seven layers. 17 The people of West-Coast speaking Konkani an Indo-Aryan language borrowed Kannada word and coined the word Sāteri which is a local deity of Konkan. However, Dhere explains the etymology of Kannada word Satta, Sapta seven but satt word has different usage in Kannada which means "dying in shame". Therefore, the original word sat is associated with shame and nakedness. Ant-hill is considered as female reproductive organ. 18

In the list of Gramadevatās furnished by Bopadeva, Vālmikini is mentioned. Vālmik means an ant-hill. 19 Hence the deity whose abode is an ant-hill is named as Vālmikini. For the religious rites in scriptures five sacred type of soils are mentioned and one of them is the soil from the ant-hill. 20

Shāntādurgā

The second chapter of Nāgavya-Mahātmya in SKH is Shāntādurgā pradurbhāvah. Only the title of the chapter
mentions the goddess Shāntādurgā and no where else this epithet of the goddess is mentioned. This section refers to a sage called Shāntamuni and he was a resident of Nāgavypurā (Nāgoa). The goddess appeared before Shāntamuni and hence she may have been called Shāntādurgā. No other justification has been furnished in this chapter. It may be recalled that the inseparable character of Durgā is her ferocious (Ugra) nature and she is never peaceful. Therefore the adjective Shānta is contradictory to the nature of Durgā. Only in vs. No.16, 19 34 of SKH the goddess is called Shāntādevi and not as Shāntādurgā.22

The vs. No. 18 of this section mentions about the disappearance of the goddess into ant-hill. These ant-hills symbolically represent goddess Shāntādurgā as well as goddess Sāteri. The worship of ant-hills may have originated among Gavdas and they may have associated ant-hills with goddess Sāteri.23 Therefore the verses mentioned above furnish the evidence of Brāhminisation of the folk deity. The association of the goddess with ant-hill is found in other regions of South India and the reference to these are available in Dravidian gods in Modern Hinduism. Mātangi which is an epithet of Pārvati appeared to a king as a beautiful maiden and when he tried to capture her, she disappeared into an ant-hill. In another legend, the king Giri Rāzu had only a male issue and had no daughter. Pārvati was pleased after his penance and
told him that she would be born to him and she disappeared into an golden ant-hill. The next day morning the king asked his servants to dig the ant-hill and they found Shakti-Renukā. Elsewhere in the same work there is a reference to Peddammā the goddess who had seven arms and after various forms of contest she created ant-hill in which she disappeared.24

With the advent of tantrism in South India many folk-deities were absorbed into Brāhminical fold. In due course these Shaktis were associated with Siva.25 Hence, Sāteri is associated with Ravalnāth, a Saivite deity of Goa and South Konkan.26 The early settlers from the various regions of India worshipped the mother earth by various names. Withstanding the regional variations, there is an underlying unity of their belief of the mother-goddess.

C) Bhaukā and Kelbai

The goddess Bhaukā is spelt in most of the almanacs from North Karnataka, Goa and Maharashtra as Bhāuka27 However, Bhāratīya Samskriti kosh has spelt Bhāukas as Bhāvakai.28 The shrine of Bhāuka used to be in the vicinity of the cemetery of shudras. Purāṇa Samuchchay mentions that the shrines of Grāmadevatas are in the colonies of the lower strata of the society in the hut of Aires or the colony of the untouchables, in the village of Nishida, in the workshop of blacksmith or carpenter or in the house of weaver.29 Therefore, the goddess
Bhāukā was in the neighbourhood of the colony of Gavdas (tribals) A semicircular stone, aniconic representation of Bhāukā was worshipped by the devotees. The priest of Bhāukā is a Gavda. He offered cocks and sheep to the goddess. On the prati.pada (first day) of the Shukla paksha (bright fortnight) of Srāvana (July-Aug) and Margashirsh (November-December) Mahānaivodya (great offering) were offered by the devotees in their homes and the priests of Bhāukā used to receive it. During the month of Śrāvana nachani (Elusive coracana) is sown by the farmers and the new crops of nachani are ready during Margashirsh. Before sowing the seeds of nachani and after getting the new crops, naivedya was offered to the goddess Bhāukā. We may recall here the association of goddess Lakshmi with corn. Lakshmi protects the field. She is the goddess of vegetation who makes the farm fertile. Some devotees used to offer liquor to the goddess Bhāukā. The worshippers of Bhāukā had to maintain a common state of purity by taking bath.

Bhāvai is the name of the tree (cassia fistula) which blossoms in hot summer. Roots, flowers and nuts of the tree act as a mild purgative. The verb used in Marathi for loose motion is vāhane (flow). The early settlers might have pronounced the verb as bāhane or bhavai. Change from va to ba is quite common. Hence from bhava the goddess Bhāukā might have evolved. There are no references to Bhāukā in early or
medieval Sanskrit literature. The reference to Bhāukā is found in Dharmaśindhu which is compiled in the early part of the 17th century. According to this work, Vaishāk (May-June) Amāvāsyā (new moon day) is called Bhāukā amāvāsyā—The next day of the said amāvāsyā is kari-dinam. The almanacs from the above region mention this amāvāsyā as well as kari-dinam (inauspicious day). From these facts it is discernible that the goddess Bhāukā was known in the region of Goa, North Karnataka and Maharashtra.

The proverbs based on Bhāukā are current in Marathi. This also indicates that goddess Bhāukā was also known to the people of Deccan plateau from ancient times. According to the proverb which is current in Konkani as well as in Marathi Bhāukā or Kelbāi has no husband and Vetāla has no wife. (Bhavakak gho na Vetala bāil nā) This proverb proves the nature of Vetāl and Bhāukā. It also proves the antiquity of the mother goddess. Bhāukā is unmarried and no father seemed to be necessary to the society in which she originated. Bhāukā or Kelbāi represent immaculate conception.

In most of the villages of Goa Gramadeva is Vetāla and adjacent to the shrine at a distance of two to three meters on the tree-railing the images of Bhāukā are found. As Bhāukā and Vetāl are ferocious deities associated with cemetery, we find shrine of Bhāukā in close association with Vetāla.
The images of Gajalakshmi in the district of Sholapur and Kolhapur from Maharashtra are worshipped by the people as Bhāvēshvarī or Bhāukā. Though the images of Gajalakshmi are worshipped by the people of Goa never call them as Gajalakshmi but always designate them as Kelbāi or Bhāukā. Most of these Bhāukā plaque are chiseled cut in schist and these are in semicircular shape. The semicircular stones which were aniconic representation might have been instrumental in determining the shape of semicircular Bhāukā images. On this schist semicircular plaques, two elephants holding pitchers at the tip of their trunks and pouring water are depicted. Below these elephants, the goddess Gajalakshmi is seated. The lowest part has musicians playing various musical instruments and there are devotees wearing gowns.

The Bhāukā tree (cassia fistula) is called Karnikār in Sanskrit. The flowers of Bhāukā are golden colour and resemble suspended ear-ornament. The tip of the trunk of elephant is called Karnikā. We may also recall here this goddess Lakshmi is also associated with yellow garments. Therefore the devotees associated Gajalakshmi with Bhāukā. Lakshmi has ferocious aspects like Alakshmi Jyeshṭā and Kālarātrī etc. It may be argued therefore that the synthesis of Bhāukā and Gajalakshmi may have taken place. It would be relevant here to mention the significance festival connected with the above amāvāsyaya. It has been already stated that Bhāukā has ferocious
nature. Hence she was associated with Bhutamātā.

In Saurastra a festival meant for Bhutamātā was celebrated from Vaishak (May-June) Krishna paksha (dark fortnight) from the first day (pratipada) to the fourteenth day (chaturdasi). On the next day is Bhāukā amāvāsyā. Lakshmidhara mentions the peculiar dances were performed in honour of Bhutamātā during the fortnight.40 A Kannada literary work Vaddarādhane mentions that people used peculiar dresses and dance, sing and enjoy on this particular day.41

The above literary reference from Sanskrit and Kannada can be corroborated with sculptural representation available. On the large Gajalakshmi panels of the 17th and 18th century below the row of goddess with the row of musicians with the various instruments are shown and there are also figure shown with gowns reaching the ankles. These gowns are similar to the nightdress used by urban ladies in the modern society. The devotees with these type dresses were performing peculiar dances as mentioned above in the literary reference.42 The above gowns were called in Kannada as Yellammana Zaga (the frocks of Yellammā) as these are worn by the devotees of Yellammā. (Plate No. 13)

The tradition of singing obscene songs is prevalent in some parts of India even now. Such songs are sung by the devotees of the goddess Bhagavati of Kodungallur in Kerala in
order to please the goddess. During the Holi festival in March obscene songs are sung by the revellers in many parts of India. Such obscene songs were sung during Bhāukā amāvāsyā in Goa. Holi pournima (fullmoon day) has karidinam which is similar to Karidinam of Bhāukā amāvāsyā. The description of Bhāukā furnished above clearly reveals that she has many aspects of goddess Lakshmi. Hence she became an inseparable part of Lakshmi and is being represented popularly as Gajalakshmi in Goa and in some parts of Maharashtra.

d) Gajalakshmi

The stone panels of Gajalakshmi are found in many villages of Goa. The earliest known representation of Gajalakshmi is from Manamodi caves from Junnar, Pune district. Pre-Kadamba Gajalakshmi panels from Goa have not been reported so far. Three Gajalakshmi panels from Goa have been found. Two are from Chandor and Chinchinim village in Salcete taluka. (Plates no:11-12) The third panel is from Siroda village of Ponda taluka. On all the three panels lion (the mount of Durgā) is depicted. Therefore, this may be indicating the synthesis of Gajalakshmi and Durgā. In ancient shrines of Goa three plates (plate 1-3) of Gajalakshmi are furnished. On plate 1-2 musicians are depicted. Earlier it has been pointed out that Bhāukā and Gajalakshmi were fused into one. On large semicircle plaques the musicians and dancers are depicted below the goddess. On some plaques these
musicians are depicted on the top of Gajalakshmi.

The above Gajalakshmi panels of Kadamba period do not depict musicians and dancers. These are purely Gajalakshmi panels. Therefore, it seems the synthesis of Gajalakshmi and Bhūkā might have taken place in post Kadamba period.

e) Mahālakshmi

The locations of the various shrines of Goa are mentioned in SKH. But SKH is silent about the location of the shrine of Mahālakshmi. As mentioned in the preceding chapter, there were three shrines of Mahālakshmi in Goa and other were namely at Colva (Salcete), Netravali (Sanguem) and at Bandivade (Ponda). The reference to the last shrine occurs in the epigraph of Vijayanagara period. On Pausha Pournima (21st January 1414 A.D.). Mai Shenoi the son of Purusha Shenoi, the resident of Kunkoli in the presence of the leaders of the village, Ram Naik, Narayan Prabhu Naik, Mange Prabhu jointly offered donations to the Mahālakshmi of Bandivade. ⁴⁷

The Southern Silāhārās and the Kadamba of Goa were the worshippers of Mahālakshmi. The Kadambas inscription refers to specifically Mahālakshmi of Kolhapur. ⁴⁸ Savai-Vere (Marcela) copper plate of 1038 A.D. mentions the visit of Jayakeshi I to Kolhapur. ⁴⁹ This clearly indicates that the shakti Pithā of Kolhapur was well known in the Deccan. Therefore Mahālakshmi was not brought from Tirhut as mentioned in SKH but she has
Mahālsā is one of the important Shakti worshipped in Goa. Mahālsā is a folk deity having her origin in Karnataka region and references are found in Kannada and Marathi literature. In inscriptions of Kannada and in a solitary Telugu and Sanskrit inscription on North Western Andhra Pradesh, references to Mahālsā are found.

The etymology of the word Mahālsā attracted the attention of modern Kannada scholars for more than a decade from 1959 to 1971 and their views have been published in the journals. Malaja and Malāchi are Prakrit words and therefore, she is a local folk-deity. If suffixes chi sā and ta are added to the prefixes Mal Mahāl and Mał these would become Malāchi, Mahālsā and Malata respectively. Therefore, these are the epithets of one and the same goddess but there is only difference in spelling and pronunciation. Mahālsā is known by different name in the various regions of the country but the prefix Ma is common in all regions. In areas of Sanskrit influence, she became Mālāti in Maharashtra and Goa she became Mahālsā and in Karnataka she is Malāchi and Malavvā. The word Mal is derived from Malai which means hill or a mountains region. Therefore, Malavve means the goddess of mountains i.e. Parvati.
From the above discussion it is evident that Mahālaśa has origin in Karnataka. Scholars have also made attempts to study the etymology of Mahālaśa. The word Mahalay is not found in Sanskrit religious literature, and might have come into usage after the arrival of Brahmins to the Deccan. A goddess called Hyaudas was popular in this region and she is referred to as Mahalay. In Marathi work Jnaneshwari the above reference to this goddess is found Hyal are the offerings made not primarily to father, grand father and great grand father but to all the ancestors. The goddess Mahalay is associated with Hyala and the offerings which were kept in the name of ancestors namely liquor and flesh were called Hyala. The references from Kannada literature clearly reveal that Mahalsa was a local folk-deity at the beginning and she was associated with cemetery. Therefore, there might have tradition of offering Hyal in the memory of ancestors.

It is evident from the above discussion that from 900 A.D. - 1200 A. D. Shakti-cult spread throughout the country. There were four Shakti-pithas at the beginning and gradually they became numerous. In Mahalsa temple of Mardol, one of the parivāra devatā (subsidiary deity) is Chousasta-yogini. Though this shrine was transferred from Verna after the destruction of the temple by the Portuguese, the chousasta-yogini might not have been added during this period. The devotees who had full knowledge of parivār devatās and may
have installed all the shrines of parivar devatas which existed in ancient Mahâlsâ temple of Verna.

The above literary references to Mahâlsâ in Kannada and Marathi throw light on the growth of her cult in respective areas. From the architectural pieces of ancient Mahâlsâ temple lying at Verna it is evident that the worship of the goddess goes back to Kadamba period c. 1100 A.D. But strangely, in no Kadamba inscriptions discovered in Goa references to Mahâlsâ have been found. For such study of Mahâlsâ from Goa SKH the only sources which furnishes the details. Varunâpur Mahâtmya in SKH deals with the goddess Mahâlsâ. The first seventeen verses mentions about the construction of the abode of Parshurâm by Varunâ. In the 18th verses there is a reference to a powerful demon who disturbed the peace in Varunâpur and caused hardships to the residents. The people of Varunâpur surrendered to Parshurâm and he informed them that he had consecrated the goddess Mahâlsâ and she would annihilates the demon.56 There is similarity between Mahâlsa and Chamunda. Chamundai killed Chandâ and Mundâ demons. But Mahâlsa killed only Chandâsur. Chamundai is sitting on a dead body and Mahâlsa is standing on a dead body and has head of Chandâsurâ in her left hand. Hence Mahâlsa was considered as Kshudra devatâ.

The description of the goddess is furnished in the twelve verses in SKH (i.e. from 29-40). The goddess has all the attributes of devi (sarva lakshana sampanna). She is a shakti
possessing the power to change her personality according to her own desire. She has anklets of semiprecious stones. She looks like a child (bālā) Kanyākumari. She is youthful and pleasing (yuvati manamohini) and she is also pure (shuddha). She looks differently at the dawn, forenoon, afternoon, night and late night. She has nine facets of personality. SKH furnishes 26 epithets of Mahālsā is the consort of Khandobā. Khandobā is known in some parts of Karnataka as Mallannā. The first wife Mallannā is Mahālsā and the second is Ketammā from pastoral golla tribe. Suffix ammā which has been added to keti. Ammā means mother. Therefore Kanyāketi and Ketammā seems to be identical.

As regards epithet Nārāyani suffixed to Mahālsā it may be stated that it 16th epithet of Mahālsā. It is one of the epithet of devi mentioned in Devibhāgavat which forms section of Markandeyapurāṇā. This work is of c. 1000 A.D. Therefore, this syncretic trend can be noticed in the epithet of Mahālsā Nārāyani.

Though in shakti-cult Siva enjoys the next position to Shakti the goddess has been called Mahālsā Nārāyani. However, Dhiec has mentioned a legend from Nevasa about Mahālsā. She was a daughter of the Lingāyat merchant and was annoyed with Khandobā as he married the daughter of Dhangar and her name was Banāi. Khandobā had more close relations with her. According to another tradition Banāi was concubine. Then
Mahālsa stayed independently in Nevasa and later she was influenced by Vaisnavites. Hence she became Mahālsa Ṋārayani.\(^{61}\) This concept of Ṋārayani is more ancient than the above tradition. Therefore, the above tradition has no historical basis. During the Kadamba period the worship of the goddess began but she was worshipped as Mahālsa. The concept of Mahālsa Ṋārayani probably came from Maharashtra during cc. 1300-1400 A.D.

SKH mentions annual utsava of Mahālsa on Krishna paksha shasti in Māgh month (February-March).\(^{62}\) However, the annual utsava begins on Māgh Vadya Chaturthi (fourth day) and continues upto Vadya dashami of Māgh. Members of Bhāvin community (Devadāsi community) sacrifice one goat infront of the sabhāmandapa and the other at the rear side. The blood of the goat and cooked rice are sprinkled on all sides of the temple.

Mahālsa is the family deity of Sāraswats and Karhādes. Many Sāraswat families left Goa during the Portuguese persecution in order to save their faith. They migrated to Dakshina Kannada, Uttar Kannada and Rajapur in Ratnagiri district of upper Konkan (Maharashtra). Sāraswats of Uttar Kannada have constructed temple of Mahālsa in their region. The goddess Mahālsa is venerated by all the Hindus of Goa. Even oath was taken in her name. Considerable sanctity and spiritual attachment is found among Sāraswats and Karhādes for
the goddess Mahālsā. Instead of visiting the new temple of Mahālsā in Karwar district, Sāraswats from Uttar Kannada and Dakshina Kannada district of Karnataka visit the temple of Mahālsā at Mardol.

g)) Kāmākshi

Kāmākshi of Kanchipuram and Kāmākshi of Assam (Kamarupa) are well known in India. In North Western India on the bank of Rabi river in Punjab there was yet another shrine of Kāmākshi. In Goa the ancient temple of Kāmākshi was at Raya in Salcete taluka. In the 16th century the devotees of Kāmākshi decided to reconsecrate the new image at Siroda now in Ponda taluka. The goddess Kāmākshi from Goa is however, not known all over India and is primarily shrine of regional importance. She is the family deity of the Sāraswat Brāhmīns and Daivadnya Brāhmīns.

The Purānic literature furnishes the description of the goddess Kāmākshi of Kanchipuram, Kamarupa and also of Goa. Bramhānda Purāṇa deals with Kāmākshi from Kanchi, Kamarupa Kāmākshi is described in Kālīka Purāṇa and SKH deals with Kāmākshi from Goa. In Puranic literature Kāmākshi is the goddess supreme and other male deities like Brahma, Visnu and Siva are relegated to background.

According to Kāmākshi Mahātmya the demon Mahishāsura swallowed the Brahmin boy Gunakar, the son of Agnimukha while
he had been sent to forest to collect grass required for the ritual (darbha). Though Agnimukha approached Hara and Hari, they directed Agnimukha to approach Kāmākshi. This shows helpless position of Hara and Hari. But image actually which is in worship at Siroda is of Mahishāsurasamardini. Hence Mahishāsurasamardini is worshipped as Kāmākshi. Mahishāsurasamardini was called Kāmākshi because of her amorous eyes.

Kāmākshi enjoyed a very high position in various part of India. It would be pertinent to study the antiquity of Kāmākshi in Goa. Scholars under the influence of SKH trace the origin of Kāmākshi to Kamarupa. In the list of the deities supposed to have been brought by the sage Parsurama, the goddess Kāmākshi is not mentioned. Chapter II (adhyāya) of Kāmākshi Māhātmya verses 21 mention that the goddess Kāmākshi came to Raya from Kavur. In addition to the above reference from SKH, a Marathi work of 17th century mentions that Kāmākshi from Goa came from Koranganādu. Kavur is in Koranganādu (Coimbatore district of Tamilnādu). However, Koranganādu is not the abode of goddess Kāmākshi. Kanchipur is the centre of Kāmākshi. Hence it is most likely that the worship of Kāmākshi has come from Kanchipuram.

During the reign of Goa Kadamba Jayakeshi I, who was vassal of the Chalukya ruler Somesvara II, came in contact with Cholas. Jayakeshi was responsible for establishing
cordial relations between Chalukyas and the Cholas. Thus Jayakeshi came in close contact with Tamil country, this political contact might have also resulted in the beginning of the worship of Kāmākshi.

The deities discussed in this chapter are the regional deities. However, Mahālsā is known in Karnataka, Maharashtra and Andhra. Sāterī and Shāntādurgā are hardly known beyond Konkan. But Bhāukā is known throughout the Deccan and she has different names. The goddesses like Mahishāsuramardini found in other regions of India and these deities shall be dealt in chapter of Iconography.
1. Srivastava M. C. P. *Mother Goddess in Indian Art, Archaeology and Literature*, fig 1.
2. Chatterji Sunitikumar "Apocrypha A Manipura Purana" In *select writings of suniti Kumar Chatterji* p 127.
4. Kosambi D. D. *Myth and Reality* the entire work is useful and provides valuable material for the study of the goddesses having folk origin.
5. Kosambi D. D. ibid p 166
6. Allchin Bridget and Raymond Allichin *The Birth of Indian civilisation* p 309.
8. Oppert Gustav *The Original Inhabitants of Bhāratvarsha or India* pp 456-501.
9. Dhere R. C. *Lajjā Gouri*, (Marathi) p 65,
10. *Tamil Marathi Dictionary* Joshi Ramabai and Joshi (edts) P.D. p 465. See also Shennoy Goyabab (Varde Valavlikar) *Aina Velar* (Konkani) p 239.
16. Mitragotri V. R. *op. cit* p 69
17. Behre P. R. *Shri Ravaleñth an Konkanatil devaski* (Marathi) p 18.
18. Dhere R. C. *op. cit. p 65*
22. Ibid chapter II p 254 Vs. 16.
27. Almancs (panchāngas) in Uttar Karnataka Maharashtra and Goa mention Bhauka amavasya. These are namely Dāte Panchanga Solapur, Uttarādimath panchanga Pune, Rāghavendraśwāmi math panchanga Mantralaya (Andhra Pradesh) and Kalanirnaya Calendar Bombay.
28. *Bhāratiya samaskriti kosh* (Marathi) pt. VI p 505
29. Oppert Gustav op. cit p 449.
30. *Bhāratiya Samskriti kosh* pt. vi p 505
31. Dhal U. N. *Goddess Lakshmi origin and development*. pp 44, 45
32. Molsworth *Marathi English Dictionary* p 611 and Personal communication with Vishwanath Khaire.
34. All the panchāngas mentioned above mention Karidinam (inauspicious) day. See also Desai P. B. "Davanad Hunnime" In *Prabhudda Karnataka* Issue No. 126 pp 73-77. In one of the inscriptions from Lakkundi alongwith Dipavali amāvāsyā Bādami amāvāsyā is mentioned. Badubbe seems to be a folk-deity. Gajalakshmi is depicted on the stone inscription of Lakkundi. The people of North Karnataka call Bhauka amavasya as Badami amavasya. See also Chidanandamurthy M. *Kannada Shāsangala sāmskritika adhayana* 450 A. D.-1150 A.D. (Kannada) p 195.
35. Molsworth Marathi English Dictionary p 611 Marathi version of Konkani Proverb is Bhāuka devis nāhinavarā Vetālās nāhi navari. See also Maharashtra Sahitya patrika issue No. 3 October, 1930 mentions proverb based on Bhāuka current in Western Maharashtra. Whenever a female child cries for scolding the child people use bhokdā pasarāyala kāy zalaga Bhāvakai. If a woman or girl was frequently harassed deliberately by calling her and entrusting her some work Alā bhalā Bhāvakaila tola was used.

36. Personal communication with Khaire Vishwanath.


38. Personal communication with Khaire Vishwanath.


41. Chidanandamurthy M. op. cit p195

42. Sonthemir Gunther " Rudra and Khandoba " In Religion and society in Maharashtra p 9


45. Padigar Srinivas op. cit pp 77-78.

46. Gune V. T. Ancient Shrines of Goa plate 1-3 sec also Hernas Henry " Pre- Portuguese remains in Portuguese India " In JBH vol. iv plate

47. Tulpule S. G. op. cit pp 306-314. This inscription mentions the arrangements made for offering sandal, rice (naivedya) ghee, vade, vegetable, betel leaves (tambul). Arrangement was also made for chanting Vedic hymns in the shrine. Earthen lamps were supplied to the temple. For incurring the above expenditure Mai Shenoi donated yield from two farms. Arrangement was also made for the morning offering (naivedya) to the goddess Mahalakshmi by granting plantation of Nagazari. The first shrine from Salcete was destroyed by the Portuguese in the 16th century.
48. Moraes George *The Kadamba Kula* pp 343, 401 see also Mirashi V. V. op. cit p xlix

49. Moraes George op. cit p 403.

50. Desai P. B. "Mailār linga" In JKV (Kannada) vol. III No. 2

1959 pp 115-127. See also Kulkarni B. S. "Mailārā nāmarahasya kuritu Mailachi ina dorcva belaku" In ibid vol. X (Kannada) 1966 pp 109-126. Refer to also Chidanandamurthy M. "Kannada Shasangalalli Mailar Mattu Malachi" In Prabhudda Karnataka (Kannada) 48.3 This paper is reprinted in Samshodhana tarang Vol II (kannada) pp 203-231. See also Ramesh K. V. "Manevaggada Chattappa" In Prabhudda Karnataka (Kannada) 48.4 Refer to also Jahagirdar Sitaram " Malachiya bagge vandu vichar " In ibid vol 49 No. 173. See also by the same author " Pampabharatad Vandu padya " In Karnataka Bharati vol No. 1 All the above writings are in Kannada and the only research paper published in English by Sonthemeir Gunther D. and Murti M. L. K. "Pre-historical background to pastoralism in Southern Deccan in light of oral tradition in cults of some pastoral communities" In Anthropos. vol 75 1980 pp 165-184


54. Khaire Vishwanath op. cit


56. SKH p 261 VI - 6

57. Ibid p 261 vs. 29-40

58. Ibid p 261 vs. 31.

19) Ambikoti 20) Kātyāni 21) Bāladurga 22) Mahāyogini
23) Adhishvari 24) Yoginidra 25) Mahālakshmi and
26) Kālarātri See also Murti M. K. L. K. and Sonthemeir
Gunther op. cit p 165

60. Coburn Thomas B. (ed) Devi Mahātmyā pp 106-108,
289. 30961. Dhere R. C. Maharashtrachye Devhare
(Marathi) pp 28-29.

62. SKH p 262 vs. 12


64. Pereira Gomes Rui op. cit p 106.

1305.

66. Kālika Purana (ed) Shastri Vishvanarayan. 54, 62, 63
refers to goddess Kāmākshi.

67. SKH Kāmākshi Mahatmya pp 252 - 276.

68. Ibid p 268 vs. 8-11.

69. Ibid p 268 vs. 21.
See also Konkanamahātmya 2nd adhaya vs. 58.

70. Moraes George op. cit. pp 181 - 182.